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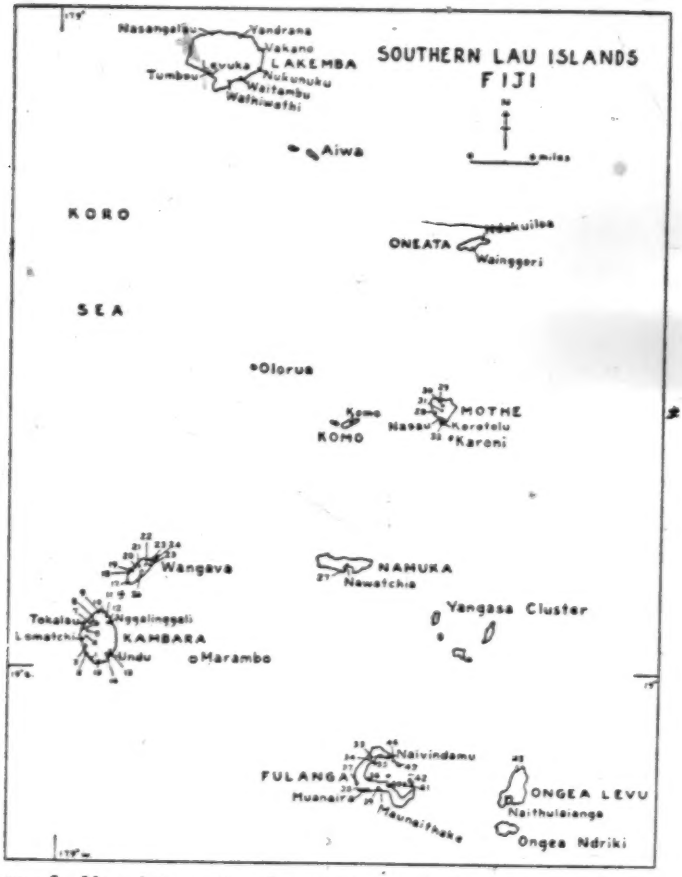

FIGURE 2.—Map of the southern Lau islands, Fiji (omitting Ono and Vatoa to the south). Names of inhabited islands are in capitals; of uninhabited islands and villages in capitals and lower case; the approximate location of archaeological sites and other named places, numbered as follows:

1. Votua
2. Salia
3. Nakoroyangai
4. Nakaka
5. Ndelaioloi
6. Vatuloaloa
7. Korokoroilulu
8. Naisevoa and Nokorovusa
9. Naikeleangga
10. Ndaku
11. Naimarai
12. Nakoro and Matauvuda
13. Nambewa
14. Thaukenaloa and Vakawangga
15. Nggaralevu
16. Vuthuninggase
17. Thimbathimba (Kambara and Wangava)
18. Saurai
19. Ndengei
20. Naivakevu
21. Korombalavu
22. Nambukua
23. Ndaitukavondo
24. Savena
25. Toyovu and Nawaroworo
26. Sauvanaroa Lake
27. Thimbathimba (Namuka)
28. Kamali
29. Nggali
30. Ndelaimakotu
31. Ndelaimothe
32. Leva
33. Tchinambua
34. Toka
35. Matafete
36. Vatuolo
37. Ndolealewanilomatchi
38. Narara, Nggilo, and Tawali
39. Nauluvatu
40. Yawalevu
41. Taluma
42. Salia
43. Nggilanggilalevu
44. Nggilanggilalailai
45. Thimbathimba (Ongea)

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the cliff above the village. Nggalinggali is situated toward the north end of Kambara within easy sailing distance of the valuable, uninhabited island of Wangava. With 154 inhabitants, it is the largest village on Kambara. Its 32 sleeping houses are near the beach in two rows, one on each side of the road, which runs parallel to the shore. Most of Nggalinggali's garden lands are on Wangava, but some are found on the slopes of Ndelaioloi, in the interior Kambara basin, and on the ridge above the village. A path leads from the northwest corner of the village, up the steep cliff into the interior basin, and across the island. It connects Nggalinggali with Ndelaioloi, and the villages of Tokalau and Lomatchi. These villages, as well as Undu, may also be reached by skirting the island in a canoe or on foot at low tide.

The reservoir is out of repair, but brackish water is obtained from two water holes, one at the north end and one at the south end of the village.

On the sandy flat north of the village, are house sites of the old village of Tanggu, occupied immediately before the present site. On the limestone cliffs above Nggalinggali are the ruins of Nakoro (p. 218), a walled fortress which was used by the Nggalinggali group. Adjoining Nakoro on the southwest is Matanaiundu, a small fort which supplemented Nakoro.

At Naimarai near Naikeleangga on the north point of the island is a cemetery and village site, which, according to the natives, was formerly occupied by Tongan canoe builders. The ditch across which the hull of a double canoe was laid while under construction may still be seen. The natives say that near this spot was situated an assembly house (*vale ni mbose*), used as a meeting place for representatives from the two hostile sides of the island.

UNDU

Undu is the most isolated village on Kambara. Located on the east shore about two miles south of Nggalinggali, it is farthest from the island's anchorage at Tokalau and least touched by western influence. In Undu are concentrated the descendants of the land people (*kai vanua*) of Kambara, the aboriginal inhabitants of the island. The village has 120 inhabitants occupying 24 sleeping houses. Its title is Raviravimbalavu.

Undu is connected with Ndelaioloi, Tokalau, and Lomatchi by a rough, narrow path, which ascends the steep precipice above the village and leads through the bush across the island. The village garden lands are located on Ndelaioloi and on Marambo, a small uninhabited limestone island about seven miles east of the village.

The reservoir is in repair. On the northern outskirts of the village, fresh water drips from the cliff and is caught in wooden bowls. There is also a fresh water hole about 250 meters south of the village in the cliff. On the beach a mile south of Undu lies a salt water hole about 12 meters deep and 2 meters in diameter, used for fermenting food.

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621 133 172 Northwest of Undu a few small, low house mounds, bordered by oval-shaped rings of stones, mark the site of old Undu, occupied, according to the natives, at the time of the measles epidemic (1875). The fortress of Thaukenaloa (p. 219) is situated on the edge of the limestone plateau southwest of Undu at an altitude of about 80 meters. Vakawangga (p. 220), a hamlet site, is located in a pocket in the limestone cliffs about 40 meters above old Undu. The Nambewa fortress is on the precipice north of the village.

Wangava

133 621 The uninhabited island of Wangava lies about 3 miles northeast of Kambara. The passage between the two islands, called Ai Vuthuninggase, is considered the roughest in Lau. Wangava is a forested, basin-shaped mass of limestone 3.3 miles in length, 1 mile wide, and 106.7 meters in altitude at the highest point. It is surrounded by a fringing reef.

The center of the island is a brackish lake, called Sauvanaroa, 0.75 mile wide. The lake rises and falls with the tide. The lake is used by the natives for sea turtle breeding (p. 141). Fertile soil in the interior basin is used for manioc, sweet potato, banana, papaya and maize gardens by the Naivotavota clan of Nggalinggali village on Kambara. However, only a small part of the arable land, which extends over most of the northeast end of the island, is cultivated. Part of it is planted with coconuts, but most of it is forested. Next to garden crops, the main resources of the island are hardwoods, especially greenheart, *mbau*, and ebony. A coarse quality of pandanus grows on [136] Wangava. Fish and shellfish abound, and the *kekewa*, a highly valued shellfish which flourishes in the Wangava lake, is found nowhere else in Lau.

[173] A few aged natives of Namuka say they were born on Wangava before the island was deserted. Informants believe the last village was abandoned between the coming of Christianity (about the middle of the nineteenth century) and the English flag (1874), because of illness caused perhaps by contaminated water, perhaps by evil spirits or sorcery.

The village site last occupied on Wangava is Ndaitukavondo on the sandy flat at Savena, the northeastern point of the island. Here are house sites and a Christian cemetery with about 16 graves. Eight temporary shelters at Ndaitukavondo accommodate gardeners and canoe travelers passing along the canoe route from Kambara to Namuka or Komo. The inhabitants of Wangava moved to Ndaitukavondo from Nambukua (p. 221), a village site on the ridge about 30 meters above, where many stone-flanked house foundations may be seen. Nambukua is said to have been the first Christian village on Wangava.

Two hamlet sites, Toyovu and Nawarowaro (p. 220), are located in the garden lands at the northeast end of the island, and another hamlet site,

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Lolousiusi, is on the west side of the island above Vuninawanawa on the west coast. At Vuninawanawa are two temporary shelters.

The two important fortress sites of Wangava are Korombalavu (Korong-gara) (p. 220), a fortified cave with one entrance in the central basin and another high up on the cliffs above the sea at Naivakevu on the north coast of the island; and Ndengei (p. 219), a fortified village on the highest point of the island, above Saurai on the west coast. A hamlet site called Nakumbua on the west Wangava beach below Ndengei is said to have been occupied by the inhabitants of Ndengei after the coming of Christianity.

My guide to the archaeological sites of Wangava was Rasolo of the Nai-votavota clan, Nggalinggali, reputed to be the only one who knows their location.

Namuka

Namuka is a relatively fertile, limestone island about 4 miles long and 1 mile wide. The maximum elevation of the island is 79.2 meters. The island is nearly surrounded by a barrier reef. Nawatchia, the only village on Namuka, is located on a small bay on the south coast. Fifty sleeping houses occupied by the 289 inhabitants are clustered around the ceremonial ground. Nawatchia has a Chinese store. Paths from the village lead to garden lands in the central basin and northwest across the island to the only anchorage. Fresh water is obtained from a reservoir in the village.

Namuka is geologically older than the other limestone islands and of them has the richest garden lands. The island produces an abundance of food to cover the needs of her population. The main garden products are manioc, sweet potato, and banana. Her principal resources are the paper mulberry (called *masi, Broussonetia papyrifera*) and other plants used in making fine types of barkcloth.

Mothe

Mothe is a circular volcanic island about 2.3 miles in diameter. It is surrounded by a barrier reef. The island rises from sandy beaches toward a central ridge, which attains a height of 179.8 meters at Ndelaimakotu hill. The hillside slopes are forest free, and fertile valleys are watered by creeks. Mothe is rich in garden lands but lacks the forest resources of the limestone islands. Besides an abundance of food, including yams and taro, as well as manioc and breadfruit, the island produces good paper mulberry.

The population of the island is concentrated at the southern end in the two villages of Nasau and Korotolu. These villages occupy adjacent sites, separated only by a narrow drainage ditch. Nasau has 260 inhabitants occupying 52 sleeping houses. Korotolu has 80 inhabitants occupying 15 sleeping houses. Nasau has a Chinese store.

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ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES

172 The southern Lau islands offer a rich and virgin field to the archaeologist. Overgrown by jungle and ravaged by weather, most of the archaeological sites are avoided by the natives. If one finds it necessary to approach or pass [751] a site he stops singing and joking, removes his turban and face paint (worn as protection against the sun), and frequently says a prayer. The bones of ancestors are tabu and may not be touched.

A few sites, mainly on Kambara and Wangava, were examined in order to check the historical data, but no attempt was made to study the archaeology systematically, to clear land, to excavate, or to remove skeletal material. The following brief notes, which indicate the types of sites found on the islands, may throw light on the culture history of the islands.

FORTRESSES

172 712 Fortress (*koro*) sites, situated on strategic high points, are found on every island which is or has been habitually inhabited. They were formerly occupied by the inhabitants of neighboring hamlets in times of war. On the limestone islands they were protected, as at Naisevou on Kambara, by a series of undressed limestone walls (*mbu vatu*) designed to reinforce and supplement the natural advantages afforded by cliffs or caves. On the volcanic islands they were fortified, like Ndelaimakotu on Mothe, by means of a series of earth ramparts surmounted in times of war by wooden fences. Each had house sites, a cemetery, and a ceremonial ground in the walled area. The names and locations of the fortress sites connected with each local group have been noted (pp. 22-26). A description of several fortresses located on limestone islands follows. No fortress sites on volcanic islands were studied.

Naisevou

An example of an unusually strong type of fortress is Naisevou (fig. 21) on Kambara. According to tradition it was built by Ndaunisai (table 2) and was never defeated in warfare. Naisevou and Korombalavu on Wangava (p. 220) are reputed to be the only fortresses that were not destroyed by fire in olden days. The site is located on a level ledge (about 197 by 60 meters) in the limestone cliffs about 38 to 41 meters above Tokalau village, and 28 meters below Nakorovusa, another fortress site on the edge of the ridge. The site commands an unobstructed view of the ocean and the Tokalau passage. Except for a garden clearing at the southwest end, the site is overgrown with bush and fruit trees, especially coconut trees. The fortress consisted of an inner village on high ground, protected by walls on the northeast and the southwest (fig. 21, 2), and two outer fortified areas on lower ground, pro-

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tected by two outer walls (fig. 21, 1, 3). The walls consist of undressed limestone which supplements the natural protection afforded by the cliff. All four walls are parallel and extend inland from the edge of the precipice. They are well preserved. On the surface of the ground in the fortified areas (fig. 21, 1, 3) were found potsherds, an adz blade of Tridacna, and irregular lines of stones which the natives said marked burials.

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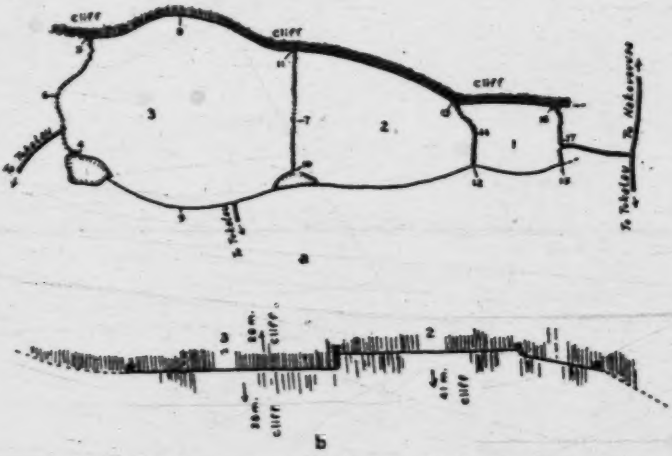

FIGURE 21.—Naisevou fortress site, Kambara. a, sketch map of site which occupies three levels (1, 2, 3), separated by rough limestone defense walls 1-2.60 meters high, 0.30-1 meter wide; 1 and 3 were outer fortified areas, house sites were located in 2. Measurements: 4-5, 37 meters; 6-7, 95 meters; 8-9, 60 meters; 10-11, 55 meters; 12-13, 20 meters; 7-14, 70 meters; 17-14, 32 meters; 15-16, 17 meters. b, profile of site (from west) showing three levels (1, 2, 3) and location of stone defense walls.

NAKOROVUSA

On the ridge about 28 meters above Naisevou is Nakorovusa, surrounded by a wall of undressed limestone. On the west this wall follows the edge of the cliffs, in places reinforcing and supplementing them to a height of about 10 meters. The wall on the south side is about 2 meters high and 65 cm. wide at the top. Much of the ground inside the wall is rocky and broken, but the level land has been made into a manioc garden. Most of the house sites have been destroyed but one site, an oval earth mound about 38 cm. high, faced with large stones, is well preserved. It is 8 meters long and 6 meters wide. The long axis of the platform is perpendicular to the shore line. Potsherds were found on the ground inside and outside of the house sites. Some sherds had incised designs on the outer wall surface or on the flat edge of

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the slightly outward bent rim. A piece of brain coral, apparently used as a grater, was also found.

Ndelaioloi

Another fortress site, Ndelaioloi, is situated southeast of Tokalau village at the summit of Ndelaioloi, the highest hill on Kambara (143.3 meters) and the only one of volcanic formation. The site commands a view of the island of Kambara as well as 17 other islands. It is entirely surrounded by a well-preserved wall of basalt. About two-thirds of the site is used for a garden of yams and manioc; the remainder is overgrown by bush. A few of the house sites which have not been destroyed are roughly rectangular in shape.

Nakaka

North of Lomatchi village on the southern spur of Ndelaioloi is Nakaka. The site is surrounded by a well-preserved wall and is overgrown with bush and fruit trees, especially coconut, *vala*, and Tahitian chestnut. On the steep hillside each house foundation forms a terrace, the south side built up with stone to 65 cm. to 1 meter high and the remainder of the mound filled in with stones to level the floor. Most of the house sites are elliptical in ground plan but one is square, 5 by 5 meters, with slightly rounded corners. A coconut tree estimated by its rings to be at least 75 years old, is growing in a stone-marked house mound of the Nakaka site.

Nakoro

Located on the edge of the ridge 60 to 75 meters above Nggalinggali is Nakoro, a natural fort. It follows the line of the ridge which forms a cliff wall. A break in this wall to the north of the fortress affords the only approach from the sea. About 4 meters below this break, a limestone wall has been constructed to guard the approach. The site of Nakoro, built up in terraces on the steep inner slope of the ridge, is now used as a garden; but many house foundations are well preserved. Informants say burials were found in some house mounds when they were disturbed for gardening. The skeletons were reburied. A group of five or six house mounds at the south end of the Nakoro series, called Matanaiundu, are said to have been used by the Undu group who were allies of the Nggalinggali people. Matanaiundu is separated from Nakoro by a high point and can be approached either from Nakoro along a razor-backed ledge, which forms the eastern edge of the point, or up a steep path leading from the interior. West of Nakoro and Matanaiundu the cliff drops abruptly from 10 to 25 meters. Here a flat, ovate section of the interior basin which forms the island has been isolated by cliffs. The fortified approach to Nakoro leads also to this plateau which has only one

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other entrance, located at the northwest end and protected by a limestone wall. A path leading into the interior joins the two entrances. It is forked by another path leading to the Sautambu, an isolated burial mound (p. 222) located at the northeast end of the plateau. Between the rocks on both sides of this second path are pits, 2 to 4 meters deep, from which the soil for the house mounds at Nakoro was taken, according to the natives.

Thaukenaloa

A strong fortress site, Thaukenaloa is situated 75 to 80 meters high on the ridge southwest of Undu. The site is said to have been named after four conspicuous ironwood (*thau*) trees crowning the point which commands a view of the surrounding ocean. Thaukenaloa occupies a steep, narrow slope between the edge of the cliffs and an inland ravine 8 meters deep. The site forms a natural fort, and protecting limestone walls have been built up only at the entrance. The site, which varies in width from 10 to 25 meters and extends about 120 meters along the ridge, is very rocky and somewhat overgrown so that it was difficult to determine to what extent house foundations had been built up. The house sites were formerly supported on the west side by a retaining limestone wall 1.5 meters high. Two foundations, situated on high points, apparently served as look-outs. Thin potsherds and one small Tridacna shell were found at Thaukenaloa.

Ndengei

The strongest fortress site on Wangava was Ndengei, built according to tradition, by Nggileso (table 2). Ndengei is located on the cliffs above Saurai near Wangava's highest point (100 meters). The only approach to the site is by a path leading from the north end of the beach on the northwest side of the island up the narrow, steep ravine to the top of the cliff and down again into a narrow valley surrounded by high inaccessible cliffs. The path up the cliff is protected by a series of three limestone walls. Each wall runs across the narrow ravine, a distance of from 4 to 7 meters. Ruins of the first wall (4 meters long) are located 5 meters above the sandy flat and about 35 meters from it. Its former height cannot now be determined. The second wall, 7 meters long, 3 meters high, 2.5 meters wide at the base, and about 30 cm. wide at the top, is located about 70 meters from the first and 10 meters above it. The third wall is 70 meters from the second and 6 meters above it. It is 6 meters long, 2 meters high, 1.5 meters wide at the base and practically pointed at the top. The natives say that formerly a hamlet was located at the top of the cliff in a level space about 8 meters wide, now covered with thick bush. No house foundations were seen here. The cliff rises rapidly northward to the highest point on the island where a round flat stone marks

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172 712 a look-out point, according to informants. Here the entire island and surrounding ocean can be seen. From the edge of the cliff, the path descends gradually through another rocky ravine. About 150 meters from the edge of the cliff grow wild yams, and 50 meters farther, at the blind end of the ravine are two coconut trees over 100 years old. No definite house foundations were found although many possible sites were examined. Gorges to a depth of 15 meters were common, many affording protection against the rain. It is possible that these were used as shelters.

Korombalavu

The only fortified cave visited was Korombalavu (Long-fortress), also called Koronggara (Cave-fortress), located in the limestone cliffs at the north end of Wangava. The natives say the cave extends to the north coast of the island and opens high in the cliffs above the sea at Naivakevu. The inland approach to the cave through a deep, rocky ravine is protected by a series of eight limestone walls. Only the entrance to the cave, which is fortified with limestone walls, was examined. It was filled with flying foxes and dung.

HAMLETS

172 Hamlet (*tokatoka*) sites are located in or near the garden lands on all the inhabited islands. Their names and locations have been discussed (pp. 22-27).

Nawarowaro

Nawarowaro, located in the garden lands of northeast Wangava, is an example of a hamlet site. On this site, which is now used as a garden, many potsherds and shells were seen. The house sites have no mounds but consist of elliptical rings of stones, usually about 8 by 7 meters. Informants say that Nawarowaro was once occupied by the land people of Wangava.

Vakawangga

Vakawangga, a hamlet site which resembles a fortress, is located about 40 meters above Undu in a pocket in the cliffs, midway between the sandy flat and the top of the ridge. The hamlet, situated on a level space about 100 meters long by 30 meters wide, is surrounded by cliffs that rise on the east side about 10 meters and then drop to sea level. The cliffs on the west side rise abruptly 40 meters to the ridge. A path leads from the site southward and joins the path from Undu to Thaukenaloa and the interior. The entrance to the hamlet has been walled with limestone, probably in recent times to pen pigs. No other stone walls were seen. Since the site was overgrown with bush and fruit trees, including coconut trees, it was impossible to examine the house foundations without clearing, but one 5-meter by 6-meter house

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mound was noted. The level platform was built up of limestone with a retaining wall 60 cm. to 1 meter high. Two corners of the walls were practically right angled. House sites seen here were larger and higher than those at Thaukenaloa. 172

Nambakua

Several coast sites, occupied by groups of clans in post-Christian times after the evacuation of the hamlet sites, have been noted (pp. 22-28).

On Wangava, about 30 meters above the northeast coast near Savena Point is Nambakua, an example of this type of site. It is said to be the first Christian village on Wangava. Although the site is used as a garden, several house mounds remain intact. A stone-faced mound with elliptical ground plan, called Vale Levu, is 12 meters long, 6 meters wide, and 30 cm. high. Two other mounds are 4 meters long, 3 meters wide, and 60 cm. high. A stone-faced mound with circular ground plan is 8 meters in diameter and 45 cm. high. Potsherds were taken from the house sites. A limestone wall 2.3 meters high, which the natives say belonged to Nambakua, is located 40 meters from the coast. It joins and builds up the natural wall of limestone. A second stone wall—2 meters high from the lower (Nambakua) side, 30 cm. wide at the top, and 2 meters wide at the base, also said to belong to Nambakua—reinforces the natural gateway of limestone rock. The path ascends through a break in this wall up the cliff. Both walls appeared to defend a fortress (probably pre-Christian) higher up on the cliff rather than Nambakua, but this could not be located. A few meters above the second wall on the point where the path begins to descend, stands a single upright stone, 1.3 meters high, 25 cm. wide at the top, said to be the seat of the guard (*niandra*). The path toward the interior leads through openings in two more walls, about 50 meters apart, of natural limestone reinforced by built-up stones. Lower and less carefully built than defense walls, these are said to form pigpens.

BURIALS

Burial Caves

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Skeletal remains as well as spears, clubs and parts of canoes are found in many caves in Lau. For example, a famous cave called Noaruarua is located in the interior of west Wangava. It is reputed to be the burial place of Singambongi, who was treacherously murdered by Naialewakalou of Lakemba. Noaruarua consists of a ledge in the limestone wall about 1.3 meters above the ground. The bones of at least three skeletons were seen here. Eight conch shells, partly decomposed and covered with patina, were scattered about the ledge.

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Isolated Burials

Unique in southern Lau is the Sautambu or chiefs' burial mound near Nggalinggali (p. 219). It is an isolated, truncated cone-shaped burial mound faced with unworked limestones. Built on a steep slope, it measures about 12 meters high from the lower side of the base and 5 meters high from the upper side. A large greenheart tree, about 3.3 meters in diameter, is growing on the flat, circular top of the mound. Here were found four conch shells, a bundle of dry kava, and a withered wreath. The Sautambu is tabu and is carefully avoided by the natives. Some say it is the burial place of Wetasau, Kelei, Mbuatoka, and Tawaketchini (table 2). According to tradition, it was built by a thousand men from Thakaundrove, each of whom contributed a stone and a handful of earth.

Cemeteries

Some informants say that each hamlet had a cemetery (called *mara* or *mbulumbulu*) in pre-Christian times (p. 102). The natives can locate a number of these, as for instance Tuvatuva, said to be situated on a point jutting into the Wangava lake not far from Vanuwai. Rasolo says that burials at Tuvatuva are marked by stone-faced mounds. No hamlet cemeteries were examined.

Isolated House Mounds

Isolated house mounds (*yavu*) are rare in southern Lau. West of Nggalinggali on the sandy flat, however, is located Naiviloa, an isolated, circular mound of earth 1 meter high and 8 meters in diameter. It is faced with large slabs of undressed limestone. The flat surface of the mound is covered with beach sand. The natives say that Naiviloa was the house mound of Mbuatoka (table 2). The mound contains two rectangular stone-faced burial mounds. One burial mound is 3.5 meters long, 2 meters wide, and 30 cm. high above the foundation. It is faced with a wall consisting of rectangular blocks of limestone dressed with right-angled corners. The mound surface is flush with the top of the wall and is covered with fresh beach sand. Eight conch shells, symbols of chieftainship, have been placed along the inner side of the east wall. The other burial mound has a ground plan similar to the first but it is faced with a single row of thin slabs of dressed limestone (about 60 cm. long, 30 cm. high, and 8 cm. deep), placed upright, their long axes parallel to the ground. This is reputed to be the grave of Sinula, a grandchild of Mbuatoka.

OTHER SITES

Sacred Places

Sites of sacred places (*na sava*), such as god houses (*mbure kalou*), sacred caves (*nggara kalou*) and sacred stones are found in Lau. Those visited have been described (pp. 108-109, 112-113).

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Gaming Grounds

A long shallow ditch (*rara ni tchingga*), called Wainikeli, which the natives say was formerly used for the dart game (*tchingga*), was examined in east central Wangava. The site has been described on pages 78-79. 172

Canoe Builders' Pit

On the beach at Naimarai, reputed to be the site of a village located on the northeast coast of Kambara and formerly occupied by Tongan canoe builders, is a pit which informants say was used in building double canoes. The rough hull was drawn across the mouth of the pit so that the canoe builders could stand conveniently in the pit while building up and finishing the hull. This was probably used especially for the *tambetembete* type of Tongan double canoe with keel. 172 396

Fishponds

On Mothe fishponds bordered by walls of basaltic stones were seen. These have been described on pages 135-136. 172

Cannibal Earth Oven

The site of an earth oven which informants said was formerly used for steaming human bodies (*lovo ni mbakola*), was seen near Undu village. It consisted of a somewhat circular pit in the ground, larger than the usual pit used to steam food for a feast. [354] [266]

Shell Mounds

An extensive, low shell mound, formed of the shells of edible mollusks, was seen on the shore at Yawalevu, Fulanga. The edge of the mound was used for a sweet potato garden. By pushing aside the shells which covered the surface of the ground and scraping the earth below into a mound, a small circular clearing had been made for each sweet potato plant.

Potters' Clay Site

The natives of Kambara say that potters' clay was formerly obtained from Matanimoko at the foot of Ndelaioloi near Lomatchi. It was made into pots by the women of Levuka, Lakemba, when they visited the island on regular trading expeditions. The women of southern Lau were not potters but obtained their pots from the Levuka women, from Matuku, Kandavu, and Tailevu (24, pp. 111-112). [323] [438]

Stone Quarries

It is probable that sites of quarries, which formerly supplied basalt for the manufacture of stone implements used in southern Lau, occur on the volcanic islands but none was located. [324] [316]

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Kambara

social organization based on clans[10] living in hamlets. The group was cooperative, not competitive, and political power was in the hands of the old men. The aborigines were apparently not cannibals. They were a relatively peaceful group. Traces of the "land people" are found throughout the Lau islands, especially on the island of Fulanga. This island has relatively less arable soil than any inhabited island in southern Lau. Hence it has not been coveted by newcomers seeking wealth and power. Moreover, of all the inhabited islands in southern Lau, Fulanga is least accessible to foreign influence on account of the lack of a good anchorage.

Several generations ago a fierce and cannibalistic group, Polynesian in racial type and culture, arrived in the Lau islands. According to traditions the newcomers came from northeast Viti Levu in two groups, one settling on Moala, south of the Koro sea, and the other on the adjacent island of Totoya and on Kambara in southern Lau. The natives say that this group brought "light", meaning a more elaborate culture, to the "darkness" of the aborigines. The immigrants married women of the "land people", and besides mixing the two racial strains acquired land thereby, and founded their own clans. These clans formed the "chief group" or upper class of nobles, outranking the clans of the aborigines which formed the lower class or commoners. The nobles organized society in Lau on the basis of rank, and set their war leaders at the top of a sort of secular hierarchy. Rank was based on "mana", that is, creative power acquired from deified ancestors of the chiefs. The newcomers were sailors and warriors. They built a fleet of large double canoes of Kambaran hardwood and fortified the strategic high points on the island by means of tiers of stone walls and ramparts. The ruins of these defenses may be seen today.

[10] The term "clan" is used in this study to designate a unilateral kinship group. Instead of tracing descent through both father and mother, as in our "family" or bilateral kinship group, a man reckons his descent through one parent only. Lauan clans are patrilineal, that is a man traces descent through his father and belongs to his father's clan.

4: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1938 OQ6 Lau OQ6

fertile soil. Here a relatively large amount of the old life survives. Hence southern Lau provides a good field for the ethnographer interested in understanding a functioning culture of Fiji in its historic background.

Like other South Sea peoples, the Lauans lack written records. Only a few documents, written by early navigators, missionaries, and government officials[7] are available for this region. Besides these, in reconstructing the history I have relied chiefly on internal evidence such as genealogies,[8] folklore, ceremonies, social structure, property rights, and technology. Archaeological data[9] and selected statements of reliable native informants have been used as supplementary evidence.

The history of the Lau Islands may be divided into five periods: (1) the early period; (2) the period of cultural adaptation following the arrival of immigrants from the west (about ten generations ago); (3) the Tongan period (reaching its height in the middle of the nineteenth century); (4) the European period (beginning about 1835); (5) the period of readjustment.

PERIOD 1

The earliest known inhabitants of the Lau Islands are called kai vanua, "people of the land."[10] They had a simple social organization. They lived in scattered hamlets, called tokatoka, usually located near garden lands or in clearings in the bush.[11] Each hamlet consisted of a sib[12] led by a

[7] There is also an account of the culture on Lakemba Island twenty years ago by A. M. Hocart (*The Lau islands, Fiji*, Bulletin, Bishop Museum, No. 62, Honolulu, 1929).

[8] Genealogies of thirty-nine sibs, extending from five to ten generations, were recorded.

[9] To check the culture history, archaeological sites (including hamlet and village sites, hill fortresses, burial and fortified caves, gaming grounds, cemeteries, and temple sites) were examined on Kambara, Wangava, Namuka, Mothe, Fulanga, and Ongea. No excavating was done.

[10] Descendants of these early inhabitants are still called kai vanua. They have retained their sib units and sib dieties, and form one of the two main social divisions into which the Lauans are grouped. The descendants of the immigrants of Period 2 form the other division. This two-fold division has been obscured on many islands, especially on Lakemba and Mothe, due to Tongan and European influences, and on Namuka and Komo where the early population was destroyed and the islands were repopulated by colonists chiefly from Kambara and Wangava. It was worked out on Kambara by means of the sib genealogies, totems, dieties, holy places, hamlet sites, sketch maps of each village, legends, ceremonies, and the statements of old informants. Archaeological excavations should yield further information concerning Period 1.

[11] The natives know which hamlet sites belonged to the land people; for example, Vakawangga, Nawi, old Lomatchi, and Korokoroilulu on Kambara, and Nggilo, Tawali, and Toka on Fulanga.

[12] Each tokatoka was apparently composed of one sib. The tokatoka still retain their local unity though they are now consolidated into coast villages. They are called matanggali (sibs) and are divided into subsibs, called mbatchi ni lovo. The subsibs are composed of vuvale (households). Many sibs today are called by the place names of their old tokatoka.

7: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1938
OQ6 Lau OQ6

the colonies of Tongans which sprang up in Lau had a marked effect upon the Lauan culture and race.[2]

The use of hardwood and the high development of carpentry account for the large number and range in size of the cutting-implements found in southern Lau.

Blades of stone and shell are no longer used as cutting-implements in Lau. They have been replaced by metal tools, hafted according to the old patterns, but many old implements are found in archaeological sites. Some are used today by the natives for *ivi* (*Inocarpus edulis* Forst.) nut-crackers or earth oven-stones.

Most of the stone cutting-implements are carefully made of selected, fine-grained basalt. They have been either pecked or chipped into shape, and all surfaces have been ground, and occasionally polished. A few specimens are composed of resistant sandstone, which is almost quartzite. All basalt implements found on the limestone islands such as Fulanga, Ongea, Wangava, and Namuka, have been imported from volcanic islands, probably chiefly from Komo, Lakemba, and Kambara (composed of limestone with a volcanic outcrop).

Stone Adzes[3]

The stone adzes have been classified according to cross-section into four types:— circular, elliptical, trapezoidal, and rectangular.

Circular Type

Fusiform adzes with circular cross-section are grouped as the circular type. (See Pl. A, 1 and fig. 1). There are a large number of adzes of this type in the collection. They narrow toward the pole, which is slightly flattened, and toward the edge, which is slightly curved and narrow, except when the adze has been worn down by sharpening of both

[2]For further information concerning the Tongans in Lau see my "Kulturgeschichte der Lauinseln (Fidschi gruppe)," *Archiv fiir Anthropologie* vol. 76, 1937.

[3]The terminology used in this study follows Buck, Emory, Skinner, and Stokes, "Terminology for ground stone cutting-implements in Polynesia," *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, vol. 39, no. 2, 1930.

8: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1938
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THE POTTERY OF THE LAU ISLANDS, FIJI.

By Laura Thompson, Ph.D.,
Honolulu.

This study is part of the results of a field trip to the Lau islands in 1933-34, made possible by a Bernice P. Bishop Museum fellowship.

The description is based on a study of 467 potsherds from Kambara, Wangava, Fulanga, and Mothe, and one pot from Levuka, Lakemba, in the Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu.

Type

No earthenware pots are made in the Lau islands to-day, and only a few pots are seen, but potsherds are found in large numbers in old hamlet—*(tokatoka)*, and fortified village—*(koro)* sites.

The pottery of Lau is a relatively rough type with little or no ornamentation. It is reddish ware of coarse texture, tempered with sand, and often incompletely fired. The sherds show that the walls of the pots varied in thickness from .8 centimetres (sherds from Nakorombalavu, fortified cave on Wangava) to 1.7 centimetres (sherds from Ndelaimakotu hill fort on Mothe). A few sherds show incised designs on the outer surface of the wall. The designs consist of roughly-executed, incised cross-hatched lines, zigzag lines, dotted lines, and faintly incised parallel grooves (Pl. A, fig. 1). Some of the sherds show impressions of mats with check-weave like those in use to-day. The rims of the sherds are upstanding or slightly bent, either inward or outward. Fragments of necks with slightly outward-bent edge are common. As a rule, the edges of the rims are decorated with incised straight, zigzag, or hatched lines, dotted lines, or raised dots. (Pl. A, fig. 2.) Some of the sherds are perforated, but none show spouts or lugs. No traces of varnish could be detected on the surface of the sherds, although informants in Levuka, Lakemba (where pots were formerly made) say that a varnish was used on certain types of pots.

[pp 1-108 not processed]

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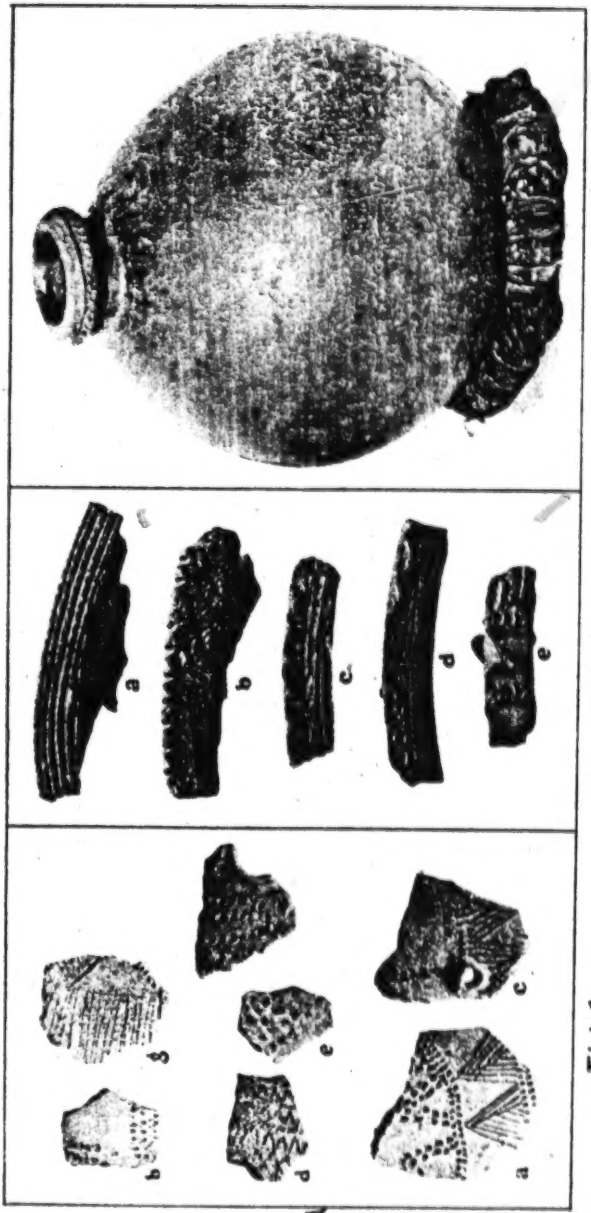

Fig. 3.

Fig. 2.

Fig. 1.

Plate A.

[facing p. 113]

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FIGURES.
(Courtesy of the Bishop Museum)

PLATE A.

Fig. 1. Potsherds with wall-surface decoration: a, b, c, (C7475) sherds apparently from one pot showing incised geometric designs in lines and dots; perforated wall; thickness .6—1 centimetre; found on the surface, Ndelaimothe fortress-site, Mothe; d, (C7421) sherd with incised dotted lines, thickness .7 centimetre, found on the surface, Nakoro fortress-site, Kambara; e, (C7421) sherd with mat-impressed surface, thickness .7 centimetre, from the same site; f, (C7421) incised sherd with perforation, thickness 1.1 centimetres, from the same site; g, (C7475) sherd with incised cross-hatching, thickness .7 centimetre, from the surface, Ndelaimothe fortress-site, Mothe.

Fig. 2. Potsherds with incised rim-decoration: a, (C7417) thickness at edge 1.2 centimetres, found 1 metre below the surface, Nakorovusa fortress-site, Kambara; b, (C7418) thickness at edge 1.6 centimetres, found on the surface, Nakorovusa fortress-site, Kambara; c, (C7419) thickness at edge 1.5 centimetres, found on the surface at Naisevou fortress-site, Kambara; d, (C7418) thickness at edge 1.7 centimetres, found with b; e, (C7418) thickness at edge 1.5 centimetres, found with b and d.

Fig. 3. Clay water-jar (C1943). This type was formerly made at Levuka, Lakemba, where it is called *sangga*.

[pp 114- end, not processed]

13 22. MALAU is a high limestone and volcanic island, 16 miles N.W.of Lakemba and 20 miles S.W.of Tuvutha'. (S.17° 58', 179° 04' W.) The island is 3 1/2 miles long by 2 miles wide, and is surrounded by a fringing reef. The high marginal ridge of upraised coral limestone, which rises percipitously on the north to 580 feet elevation, surrounds a ~~dish~~ dry central volcanic basin, carpeted with grass, scrub and Pandanus. The ridges are well forested.

There is no anchorage for vessels, but boats can cross the reef opposite the village of Salia on the east side, and also on the N.W. side, at high water.

312 Water is not abundant, but may be had at the villages, together with limited supplies of staple groceries and vegetables.

361 There are three villages on the island. Salia on the east side
[366] has a native population of 140 and two chinese stores. Narothivo
177 is located about a mile and a quarter to the N.N.W. and has 117
[161] people. Liku, with 59 natives is on the south-east side. There is no landing at Liku, and all supplies and copra has to be carried
487 by trail over the ridges and across the central basin. Gaps in the
13 limestone ridges on each side, with gradual slopes of volcanic material leading up to them, make this trail more accessable than
181 that on Tuvutha'. The people appear to be prosperous and produce
245 quite a little copra from the extensive coconut groves.

● 172 On the high ridge S.W. of Salia there is the site of an
361 ancient fortified village, perched at the top of a cliff.
712

[p.56]

13 28. AVEA is a small island composed of elevated coral limestone and volcanic material, lying a little over a mile off the N.E. side of Vanua Mbalavu. It is 1 3/4 miles long by 1/2 to 5/8 mile wide, pointed at both ends and rising to a height of 600 feet. The center is a small, narrow, wooded plateau, from which rise the two peaks, Salia (600'), and Sangawelahgi (about 500'). The slopes rise abruptly from a narrow beach covered with coconut palms. The island is fringed with a coral reef on the east side and is connected to the north reef by a coral strip, over which small boats can pass at any time of tide. On the S.E. side is a grassy volcanic hill, the slopes of which are under cultivation.

361 161 312 487 The village, Avea, is located on the S.W. point and has a population of about 60 natives. There is a small freshwater pool at the foot of a cliff on the south end. A good trail leads from here to the village.

● 172 The remains of an ancient village occupies part of the flat-topped plateau.

13 29. Malata is a small wooded island, of partly limestone and partly volcanic material. It is a continuation S.S.E. of the limestone ridge at the south end of Vanua Mbalavu, with which it is connected by a broad reef which dries at 3/4 ebb tide, with a gap of only a few hundred feet. The island is 1 1/2 miles long by 1/2 mile wide, and rises to a height in the center of 420 feet.

[361] [291] [345] The village is situated on the N.E. side, where there is a grassy and partly cultivated volcanic hill, with a grove of coconut palms. Other portions of the island are also of volcanic formation.

30. Sugui is a somewhat larger island of limestone and volcanic formation, lying to the eastward of the south-east point of Malata, with which it is connected by a reef which dries at 1/2 tide. It is 2 1/3 miles long by 3/4 mile wide. The western half is of wooded, elevated coral limestone,

13 Ml. MUNIA is a small volcanic island, 2 1/4 miles long by 1500 yards wide, lying 3 1/2 miles E.by S. of Susui and 15 miles E.by N. of Mango. A high ridge traverses the island, reaching a height of 950 feet near the center. The island is surrounded by a fringing reef, which connects it with the south side of the barrier reef which surrounds the Exploring group. The island is entirely made up of volcanic material.

473 Munia is privately owned, by Mr. H.H. Steinmets, an Englishman, who
162 produces copra. His homestead is located on the S.E.side at a place
295 where there is a small bight in the reef. Here a pier has been built
361 out nearly to deep water. Anchorage here is fair, except when the
504 strong
13 wind is from the S.E.to N.E. A better anchorage may be found in the lee of the island. Good paths traverse the island and its slopes are
487 thickly planted with cocomut palms. Water is fairly abundant, there
312 being several wells.

Mr. Steinmets has kept careful meteorological records for the
127 past 29 years (1924). A summary of his rainfall data is given in the introduction.

464 There is no native population on the island other than the workmen.
161 or
It formally possessed native inhabitants, however, and bones and ethno-
● [172] logical objects have been dug up about the homestead.

[p.75]

13 32. THIKOMBIA - I - LAU is a small limestone and volcanic island located on the east side of the lagoon, 5 1/2 miles N.E. of Munia. It is irregularly rectangular in outline, 1 1/4 by 1 1/8 miles, and rises to a height of 550 feet. The western part consists of a volcanic plateau surrounded by a ring of coral limestone hills, thus forming a raised basin, similar to Vanua Vatu. The eastern part is a steep hill with spurs of volcanic conglomerate, separated from the western mass by a low divide connecting the heads of two deep valleys. The south and east sides are furrowed by small valleys or pockets running back from the sea. Here the beach is alternately volcanic rock, sand and sandstone.

361 [161] 291 The village of Thikombia, on the S.W. end, consists of a dozen houses, with a population of 50. There are extensive cultivated areas in the volcanic basin, and small groves of coconut palms along the beach and in the N.E. and S.E. valleys. Water is not abundant, rainwater being caught 312 and stored in a cement tank at the village.

Vessels may anchor in the lee of the island, and landing is good 13 487 764 172 both at the village and on the north sand beaches. Trails lead up onto the plateau from both the north and south sides. A burial cave containing numerous skeletons was explored on this plateau.

[p. 76]

13 [103] 37. YATHATA (or Cap island, so called because its profile resembles a cap with button) is a limestone and volcanic island, lying 18 miles S.W. of Naitaumba and 19 miles west of Kanathea. (S.17° 16', 179° 32' W.) It is surrounded by a fringing reef which also encloses the low limestone island of Kaimbu and several smaller islets and rocks. There is a boat passage on the N. side with good landing on a sand beach toward the N.E. end. There is no anchorage.

The island is 1 1/2 miles E.& W. by 1 1/2 miles wide. Toward the center there is a steep, flat-topped, wooded limestone peak, 840 feet high and on the S.E. a rounded, grassy volcanic hill. The coast on the east and N.W. is sandy with groves of cocoanut palms, and there are [241] cultivated areas on the S.W. side of the central peak.

36 368 312 487 172 712 13 The village, with 25-30 native houses and a frame church, is located on the east side. S.W. of the village is a small fresh water pool. The island is traversed by trails. The ruins of an ancient fortified village occupies the summit of the central peak, Na Koro Levu (840'). The volcanic hill, called Dilla Thata, is about 500 feet high.

38. KAIMBU was not visited. It is about 1 1/2 miles long (NW-S.E.), by 13 1/2 mile wide. It is composed of elevated coral limestone, with a flat surface ~~averaging~~ 150 feet high. Portions are wooded, and others partly [241] [361] cultivated. The small village is on the N.W. side.

The small sand islet of Nukuluve, between Yathata and Kaimbu is densely covered with coconut palms. The 90 feet elevation is to the top of the vegetation. The other small islets, 20 to 30 feet high, are mostly coral limestone and of no great consequence.

[p.85]

13
[103] 40. VATU VARA I. (or Hat island, because of its resemblence, in profile from the E. and W., to a slouch hat) lies 9 miles south of Yathata. (S.17° 26', 179° 32' W.) It is surrounded by a fringing reef with a small shallow lagoon on the west. This island is the highest in Lau, the bold central peak rising to a height of 1030 feet. The slopes of this peak rise percipitously to a flat, crater-like summit, where the ruins of a fortified village are located.

[172]
[712]

The island is sub-circular, about 1 1/4 miles in diameter, with a square point on the S.E. It is composed of upraised coral limestone, densely wooded, and with small groves of coconut palms in pockets around the foot of the talis slopes, and on the beaches. It is privately owned by the estate of the late Captain Wilson. The neat, substantial homestead is located on the west side. Copra is produced.

423
361
245

13
502 Landing may be made without difficulty on ~~the~~ a sand beach on the N. side, thru a small break in the reef, marked by a beacon.

464
161
312
241 There are no inhabitants except the caretaker and a few workmen. Water is not abundant, and but little cultivation is done.

[p.88]